A F 437 439 459 *648 *175

Trade accounts were either settled on the spot or by keeping a record of receipts and disbursals which was settled at the end of the fishing season. The same source notes: "According to the amount of dried sea slugs, goods would be loaned to the Ezo in the summer and in the winter the accounts would be settled. Besides this system there was another called 'cash trade' in which goods were given to the Ezo in exchange for their products when they brought them." In later years this loan system seems to have been the most widespread. There is no doubt that this system provided many ways in which the merchants could deceive the illiterate Ezo. In *Igen Zokuwa* we find that, "among the goods given to the Ezo," during *Omusha*, "one barrel of sake was to be taken into account in the settlement." By this it seems that the already drunken Ezo were given additional sake at the trading party and that this quantity was added to the acounts. In *Ezo Miyage* it says,

A [431] [273] [276]

There is an event called *Omusha* in Ezo. Each year between summer and autumn when the Matsumae officials went to their *Basho* they took with them, as presents, several dozen sacks (eight shō to a sack) of rice yeast, one or two bundles of tobacco and one barrel (containing four shō) of sake and gave these to the Ezo of a celebrated family. Among these presents the tobacco was actually a gift but it was customary to take some Ezo products in return for the other gifts. It is strange that they should ask for something in return for that given as a gift.

A F [661]

In effect this was a loan-in-advance system and it gradually evolved into forcing the Ezo to work for trade goods. This cheating grew into plunder. In *Tsugaru Kibun* the trade situation is described as follows:

A F *648 [597] *175 437 439

After a deal had been made and the amount agreed upon, as to dried salmon, sea cucumber, and strings of shells from the Ezo and sake, tobacco, and needles from the merchants, a narrow board would be placed on a dangerous spot on the vessel and on this board the Ezo would lay out their goods for counting. The native, although he knows it is dangerous, is stupid enough to place his goods on this board. While he is laboriously counting someone would sneak up behind him and surprise him by grabbing his shoulders. The native would jump up with fright and turn red with anger at this joke but, when offered tobacco or sake, he would forget the whole matter and resume his counting. However, he would have forgotten his previous count and start anew from where he had left off, the result being that those goods left out of the count were free to the merchants.

A [802]

A method of counting which lingered into recent times was used by the Ainu and was evidently practiced by them from early times. It consisted of adding "beginning" and "end" to every count of ten and, in effect taking twelve for ten. In *Tōyuki* we note: "The crews of vessels trading with the Ezo were mostly men of poor education and morals who took it for granted that all Ezo were ignorant and cheating and stealing were very common."

A F *648 *175 466

This situation did not change when the contractors started to use the Ezo as laborers which came after the stage of mutual trade. As the use of natives as

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
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laborers increased, a new position called "*Kozukai*" was established under the *Otona*. The duty of the *Kozukai* was to recruit native labor according to the instructions of managers and guards and to supervise their labor. In *Igen Zokuwa* we find: "Sea cucumbers received at the post would be spread on the wooden floor and the skewers removed by women. This job was managed by the *Kozukai* who could use women living near the post. The *Kozukai* was a foreman and hard-working Ezo were chosen for this post." *Tsugaru Kibun* notes:

> For loading or unloading ships in Ezo money was not needed to hire the natives. They were willing to work for a small amount of goods brought from the mainland. If sake and rice were given them they were very pleased, regarding it as a rare treat. However, when they had enough to eat and drink, nothing could make them work. They would sprawl on the beach in a hilarious mood and it seems that their desires were easily satisfied. Some of them would even head for home. Therefore, a sort of rice and sake tactics was devised. One cup of sake would be given to three or four persons while one handful of rice was also given to those persons. Thus, by not allowing them to become drunk or full, they could be kept on the job as long as one wanted.

It was natural then, under such a system, that potentiality for trouble existed.

Although the natives were mostly hired to make oil cake the wages of those employed at fishing were, in general, as follows: [62]

the headman	rice or yeast	20 sacks
	tobacco	20 bundles
male Ezo	rice or yeast	7 or 8 sacks
	tobacco	20 bundles
female Ezo	rice or yeast	5 sacks
	tobacco	10 bundles

The oil cakes were all kept by the post but it was the custom to give half the oil to the Ezo. This varied however, according to different *Basho*. The wage in the Kunashiri and Menashi districts, where there was a revolt in 1789, was, according to reports by the Ezo:

KUNASHIRI [63]

chief	3 sacks of rice yeast
male Ezo	1 or 2 sacks of rice yeast
female Ezo	1 to 3 bundles of tobacco
	1 knife

MENASHI [64]

chief	1 sack of rice and 1 bundle of tobacco
others	½ bundle of tobacco and 1 knife

No distribution of the product

In Kunashiri there were some *Basho* where the natives were made to work until the snow began to fall

[62] *Kansei Ezo no ran Torishirabe Nikki* (Records of the investigation of the Kansei incident). Statement by Denkichi.
[63] *Ibid.* Statement by Ezo in Kunashiri.
[64] *Ibid.* Statement by Ezo in Menashi.

A F *C48 *175 ● 466 661 A [511]

and were not even paid for their labor.[65] Although the Ezo were able to support themselves while working, those living in the mountains could not expect to feed themselves from these wages during the period they were traveling to and from their homes. Furthermore, since they had no free time in which to produce anything for themselves, they were unable to trade for goods which they needed, and, still worse, being unable to store provisions for the winter, they were always on the verge of starvation.[66] The ways in which they were used as laborers were also cruel. This can be seen in the report made to the expeditionary force by the *Kozukai* Shimochi on the causes of the 1789 revolt.

> When the wife of Chief Shibetsu declined to work in pressing oil some of the guards beat her with wood logs which caused her to fall ill and later die. . . . The guards said that if any Ezo refused to work they would all be killed. At the same time a dog was tied up with a rope and drowned in a river. Thus Ezo imagined that their lives were actually in danger. [This was an incident in the Menashi region.]

A F *C48 661 939 *175

Thus, the contractors made profit at the expense of the Ezo's interests; restricted the natives in various ways in order to exploit them and attempted to keep these people under their sole control. First of all, the Ezo freedom of trade was restricted for, in order to preserve his monopoly right in his *Basho*, the contractor forbade his Ezo to go anywhere else for trade or indeed to engage in trade with any other mainlander. The Ezo were thus bound to trade at one post. Secondly, in many *Basho* the Ainu were forbidden to speak Japanese or to learn how to write and in all dealings conversation was carried on through an interpreter. To leave the Ezo ignorant was to the advantage of the contractor. Third, there were many *Basho* in which agriculture was not permitted. The *Watarishima Hikki* says:

A [191]

> The purpose was to make fishing the main activity. It was more profitable to concentrate on fishing. It was possible to obtain salt from sea water or grain from seed. But such items were in sufficient production on the mainland. If silk worms were raised and hemp planted what would there be to bring from the mainland in exchange?

A [511]

[65] "We have been working since last year making salmon oil cakes and have been obliged to continue working until the season of the snows sets in and yet since our employers have not paid us at all we are in great difficulties." (Statement by Ezo in Kunashiri.)

[66] "Everyday we would be summoned to work at the post making it impossible to work for ourselves and since we had no goods to offer in return we were unable to accept gifts. We have been making salmon oil cakes since last year and have no supplies stored for the winter. There is nothing we can do but stand by and watch our wives and children starve." (Statement by Ezo in Menashi.)

"Since we are working for others and have no time to store food for ourselves during the winter there are many who starve to death during that period." (Statement by Ezo in Kunashiri.)

Mogami Tokunai, Ezojin toriatsukai kata no gi ni tusku kengi (A proposal concerning the treatment of Ezo) in *Chigaku Zasshi*, No. 276: 901–902.

was forbidden to mainland women. The *Kozukai* Shimochi of Akkeshi says:

> Among the Japanese coming to Kunashiri island were some who bought Ezo women and treated them as wives while others committed adultery with the wives and mistresses of the chiefs and Utare. When the Ezo complained, they would become unreasonable and even demand *Tsugunai*. Therefore, nothing was done about this misbehaviour.

There are also incidents of adultery and rape noted in Menashi. After the 1789 incident, when many rebellious natives were questioned, it became apparent that rape and adultery had played an important part in creating the rebellion.[70] Kimura Kenji who wrote his *Hokkō Nikki* [Journal of a trip to the North] during a journey in 1792 describes this situation.

> Sailors on vessels going to Ezo often commit adultery with Ezo women. When the woman told this to her husband he would go to the vessel, seek out the guilty party and demand *Tsugunai*, whereupon small amounts of tobacco would be given to him. When adultery was to be committed for the first time the Japanese would smear his face with charcoal and, closing his eyes, pretend to be blind so that the Ezo would not recognize him later with his face washed and eyes open. However, the Ezo were used to such tactics and were not deceived.

The above shows that such misconduct was carried on as a daily affair.

Many examples have been given for the Kunashiri and Menashi districts. This is because of the material available from these districts and does not mean that this situation did not exist in other parts of the island. Among the reasons given by the Ezo for the 1789 incident are: if Ezo refused to work they would be poisoned and Japanese would take over their village,[71] or they would be squeezed to death with the oil cake press or boiled to death in a pot,[72] or needles would be set in the floor of a storehouse and the Ezo would be swung over the floor on a hanging platform on which they would all be obliged to get drunk whereupon the platform would be removed and they would be plunged to death.[73] These were all childish threats made by the

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[70] Statements by Ezo in Kunashiri and Menashi in the *Kansei Ezo Ran*. . . .

[71] "When the Ezo laborers showed little enthusiasm for their work, the leading Ezo would be put to death by mixing poison with their food, and new foremen, who the officials thought would be more useful, would be appointed. If orders were neglected, all Ezo were threatened with death by poison after which town halls would be erected and the area turned into a Japanese town by bringing in Japanese from Edo and business would be carried out in their style." (Statement by Shimochi).

[72] "Japanese businessmen making oilcake told the Ezo employed by them to gather firewood and to obey all orders and if they refused to work then all the Ezo, men and women alike, would be squeezed to death with the oil." (Statement by Ezo in Menashi.)

[73] "Since last year three large pots have been set up at different places and the Ezo have been told that each pot was for cooking men, women, and children to death. For a time nothing happened but one day an Ezo women with a child on her back was seized by the Japanese workers and put into a pot. Be-

as their power grew so did their tyranny over the Ezo. However, the Ezo in the interior of the east coast were still in a low state of culture and were a powerful and dangerous people. Their hardy characteristics are described in *Hokkai Zuihitsu* written in 1739. "Generally speaking the Ezo in the East are sturdy in character and apt to defy the law of the Matsumae. The Ezo in Kiritappu, Akkeshi, and Kusuri are hard to handle." In 1737 merchant trips were cancelled because of a rebellion in Kiritappu, and in 1758 in July, two to three thousand Ainu from Noshappu in the East attacked the Ezo in Sōya killing sixty and wounding over two hundred. The following year officials were sent to make the *Otona* apologize. In 1770 disputes arose between the Ezo of Tokachi and those of Sarugun and clan officials were sent in to arbitrate. Chief Tsukinoe of Tobui on Kunashiri was especially powerful. In 1775, under the influence of alcohol, he attacked and robbed a merchant vessel. As a result no merchant vessels were sent there for the next ten years.[78]

However, since the cultural level of the Ezo in this region was low and since the techniques of *Basho* management were now well advanced and the contractors were able merchants utilizing advanced methods this eastern area was adroitly managed and the Ezo there faced with a fast-growing control. Therefore, every possibility of revolt existed. In 1783 the author of *Tōyūki* has this to say:

> The Ezo in the east are a sturdy tribe. Although they seem to be ignorant, it is said that, having solved the problem of death, they have strong characters. If they are not treated with care, they will probably cause trouble in the future. Just recently an Ezo committed suicide because of his anger. We must remember the old adage that a rat when driven into a corner may attack a cat.

This prediction came true with the outbreak of revolt in Kunashiri and Menashi. The *Kozukai* Shimochi of Akkeshi gives the causes of this outbreak as follows:

> The employees of the contractor Hidaya Kyuhei and the servants who went to Ezo as *Uwanoriyaku* disregarded the custom of *Omusha* and their trading was very unfair. The Ezo whom they hired to fish for salmon and trout and to press fish oil were treated harshly with little compensation. The natives could never earn enough to carry them through the winter months and were on the verge of starvation. The employers beat them when they refused to work, threatened to poison them, said they would supersede them with Japanese labor, robbed them of their property, raped their women, and when the natives complained threatened them. Thus, the fear and resentment of the Ezo were at a peak when one of them was poisoned from some rice or sake he had obtained from the post. The natives, thinking this was the start of a mass poisoning, revolted. In May, 1789, the officials and guardhouses of Kunashiri were attacked. Twenty-two

[78] *Hokkaidō Shi*, 348–350.

A F *C48 437 *175 439

This is brought out in a written order to the managers, "It seems that if trade is left entirely in the hands of the traders there would be unfair practices as in the past. Therefore, trade will be conducted by the Bakufu and officials will be sent to the various trading posts to handle these transactions." In the light of the experience of the relief trade of 1791 and 1792 the Bakufu felt assured that this would work. In 1791 and 1792 as an experiment the Bakufu had sent its agents to several places in Ezo to handle trade. Although it is doubtful, as is stated in the *Hokkaidō Shi*,[4] that the reason for this gesture lay solely in the improvement of trade, nevertheless it was proven that trade could be carried on at a profit even after the worst features were eliminated. In the second volume of *Ezo Sōshi* it states:

> During the government-conducted trade in 1791 and 1792 the trade was carried on as it always had been and no new regulations were set. However, weighing and measuring were done without the usual cheating and poor quality goods were not allowed in the trade. At the same time the officials treated the elderly and the children with food and gave aid to the poor. The Ezo were deeply grateful and sang and danced to show their happiness. Even the profit to the government totaled more than 1000 ryō.

A F *C48 *175 439 A ● [466]

The Bakufu ordered Sumihara Kakubei and two other Ezo merchants to procure the necessary trade goods which were then sent to Ezo. Meanwhile, agents purchased from the *Basho* contractors their offices and fishing equipment and, with the aid of guards and interpreters, supervised all transactions themselves. Thus, the Ezo with the aid and encouragement of the government continued their labors. The trading post formerly called *Unjōya*, was now called *Kaihō*. The goods obtained in trade were carried to the major parts of the nation by government or chartered vessels and sold by agents and traders. As has been repeatedly noted, the basic principle of all this was to conduct a decent trade without profit as the object although the methods were to remain unchanged, since it was feared that too much of a good thing would do more harm than good. The Bakufu always prepared goods in sufficient quantity to ship to Ezo, the quality was carefully checked, and honest weights and measures were enforced—all with the intention of winning the confidence of the natives. It is difficult to give a precise example of the caution taken to improve the quality and increase the quantity of goods in the trade but we can use for illustration what happened in the case of sake and rice.

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Sake was not only the most important trade goods; it was also important as a compensation for services. At the same time it was the most widely used device in cheating the Ezo. (See Part Two, Chap. III, para. 2.) Officials strove to improve quality by importing sake from Ōsaka and Nada when they found that the sake previously imported from Ōu and Hokuriku changed in taste.

[4] *Hokkaidō Shi* 1: 365.

11: Watanabe E-4,5 (1951-1959) 1964 AB6 Ainu AB6

the life of the Ainu except through the distribution of Japanese goods among them. 175 648

(6) "Basho" or District System.

The "basho" system came into being when the Matsumae clan, establishing itself as a feudal clan under the Tokugawa Shogunate, claimed the "Matsumae clan territory" around the castle it built for its headquarters at the tip of the Woshima peninsula in the southwest Hokkaido and divided part of the Ainu territory on the island and the southern Kuriles into a number of "basho" or districts as fiefs for its vassals (Hokkaido-chō, ed., 1937, Vol. 2, pp. 102-103). The result was a division of the Ainu territory roughly into two sections, the east territory and the west, with probably either Kamui Cape or Fuoi Cape as boundary (Note 1). At the Kansei period (1789-1800) there existed 43 "basho" in the east Ainu territory and 42 more in the west (ibid., p. 359). Down at the outset of the Japanese administration, that is, immediately before the abolition of the system (1869), the number was 20 in the east and about 25 in the west (ibid., Vol. 3, pp. 145-148). The districts varied considerably in area, their boundaries, it seems, being based on old Ainu observances (ibid., Vol. 2, p. 105). 175 648 631

Within the clan territory no Ainus were allowed to live except those resident hitherto. Nor in the earlier days were any Japanese permitted to inhabit Ainu territory; all they did with the natives was trading of goods once every year at the coast of each "basho". In course of time, though restrictions on Japanese residence continued, there emerged on the coast of each "basho" a trading post, "unjoya", to conduct periodic trading and periodic shore fishing with employment of native labour (ibid., Vol. 2, pp. 105-108). In "basho" with good fishing grounds a census-register was kept at each trading post for the purpose of summoning interior Ainus to compulsory service at the coast and calling out any surplus labour force from other districts under the same contractor. Some Ainus, however, who lived on the upper courses of the larger rivers or in "basho" with poor fishing grounds, were free from the service (TAKAKURA, 1942, p. 235). Ainus employed at the coast were mainly young and grown-up men, but sometimes women and even young children were included (TAKAKURA, 1942, p. 289). At the close of the "basho" period (1854-1868) Ainus responsible for supporting a family were exempted from shore service; in absence of such in a family some one in his place was chosen for exemption (ibid., p. 366). The "basho" system was abolished in 1869 by the Japanese Government shortly after the establishment of the colonial government for development of Ezo Island. The system was temporarily replaced in some areas by direct government control and in others, including Tokapchi, by the new system of "ryōba-mochi" (fishery holding) [439] [464] 175 464 466 648 175 648

[p.133]

IV

159 (41) Information concerning member families of Nitmap local group and co-
592 operative activities among them.

224 Shiokoro and his family.—Shiokoro was an old man; he no longer went hunting bears himself, because his sons had all grown enough to do that for him and themselves. Nor did old Shiokoro play an active part in deer-hunting as did his younger brothers and his sons. All his sons were good bear-hunters, Itomochara, the second, being the best. As some of them were every year [466] drafted in service at some Japanese fishing grounds on the sea-coast from [648] about May to early October and soon after their return went for bear hunting, deer-hunting on the fields was operated by the remaining male hands with their home as base, so as to carry on dog-salmon fishing side by side. Their deer-fence was accordingly built within half a mile of their settlement, on a level hill on the way to Shintoku on a smaller scale. But after their return from bear hunt they went for deer-hunting in the hills and got sufficient amount of deer. The children being all grown up, Shiokoro and his family built their own cherry-salmon weirs in the main stream and the glens.

Shurunke and his family.—Shurunke, a traditional headman of a *kotan* and formerly a great bear-hunter, was now too old to go hunting the beast. But his eldest son Sankur was one of the best bear-hunters of Nitmap and his second, Usareta, was another fine hunter. The third and the fourth, though always following their brothers on bear-hunting expeditions, had never killed a bear themselves yet. Sankur, like Shiokoro's sons, had to be away during summer for service at the coast; immediately on his return home he entered mountains to chase bears. Deer hunts in autumn fell largely on Shurunke and his son Usareta, who like Shiokaro's family set up their deer-fence less than a mile and a half from their settlement, on a level height on the way to Pekerepet, and there chased deer of the plain. Their daily routine was [512] to go round the fence during the morning and bring back spoils killed with hand-bows, spending the rest of the day in catching dog-salmon. In spring Sankur and Usareta always went together for bear-hunts; in autumn Sankur alone went because there were deer-hunting and dog-salmon fishing going on concurrently which needed hands. The building and use of the cherry-salmon weir in the main stream was a joint enterprise with the families of Shukemon, Kapkotuk and Osareainu; for the cherry salmon weir and the fishing hut on the glen they cooperated with the two families of Shukemon and Osareainu.

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F.J. /74 cont./
175 ethnographically, and we are indebted to Ph. F. von Siebold for
636 its publication (2). I mention it now only because one can gather
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2. "Tô-tats ki ko," that is, "Journey to Eastern Tartary" (Nippon, VII, pp. 167-196).

from it that there were no Japanese settlements along the west coast of Sakhalin at that time. There is no mention in it of any in Ssiranussi either, to which Mamia Rinsô went first and where he spent three days in preparation for further travels; in his report he mentions only the trade of the Japanese in this place (3).

3. Op. cit., p. 187.

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Though the Japanese settlements on Sakhalin were small in number and extent in the beginning, they immediately had the result that a part of the Ainu became dependent on the Japanese. The chief reason for this was the circumstance that the latter, in order to broaden the scope of the very rewarding fishing along the coast of Sakhalin, needed the help of the Ainu. Now since among the Ainu, with the unconcern that characterizes all primitive peoples, it always happened that they suffered want and distress after the insufficient winter supplies were consumed, it was not difficult for the Japanese to find

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laborers among them in exchange for food and clothing. Once they were won over, however, they soon degenerated into permanent, completely dependent laborers and menials of the Japanese because of the impossibility of working for themselves in the future, the situation in which they now saw themselves put, because of small advances that made them debtors of the Japanese, because of various promises, threats, and in general the pressure of a civilized people superior to them who were already acquainted with their weaknesses on Jesso /Yesso (Hokkaido)/. As Fr. Schmidt correctly pointed out (4), the

4. "Histor. Bericht." etc., op. cit., p. 106.

2: Schrenck--153 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak
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/74 cont./

originally voluntary labor by the Ainu for the Japanese soon became forced labor. Needless to say, the latter, in order to be certain of their laborers, tried to keep them always in their vicinity, and /75/ hence there was assembled around the Japanese settlements a large population of dependent Ainu; whole villages were formed, while their former dwelling sites became deserted.

F.J 175 636 361

At the same time, the Japanese steadily enlarged their settlements on Sakhalin. Up to the year 1854, however, this took place only very slowly and gradually. Aside from Aniwa Bay they spread primarily along the west coast of Sakhalin from Ssiranussi northward. In the fall of 1853, when the Russians founded the Murawjof Station in the vicinity of Kussun-kotan, the Japanese had three large or chief settlements on Sakhalin, Kussun-kotan, Ssiranussi, and Endungomo (Tunai, Mauka) (1),

F.J. [113]

1. Schmidt, "Historischer Bericht," etc., op. cit., p. 105. A. D. Brylkin, "Statist. und topograph. Nachrichten über das südliche Sachalin" /Statistical and Topographical Information on Southern Sakhalin/ (Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reichs, Vol. XXV, p. 278).

between which, along the coast, in the Ainu villages or even separate from them, there were many sheds and warehouses for storing supplies of fish, and here and there isolated Japanese dwellings used only in summer. These houses extended to the north for a stretch beyond Endungomo; Lieutenant Rudanofskij, who traveled through southern Sakhalin from the Murawjof Station in the winter of 1853/54, found the last, northernmost house of this kind on Tokmako Bay, only a little to the north of Endungomo, and the last Japanese storehouses in Tubu, Notossam, and Paikassabussi. In that winter, by the way, the Japanese had also left Endungomo temporarily, as they were accustomed to do, because their boats were exposed to all kinds of dangers during the winter in the only slightly protected bays of this part of Sakhalin.